

A THIRD
LETTER

TO THE

People of *ENGLAND*.

[Price One Shilling.]

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TO THE

People of *England*,

ON

LIBERTY, TAXES,

And the APPLICATION of

PUBLICK MONEY.

By John Shebbeare.

*Torpere ultra, & perdendam rempublicam relinquere Sopor &
Ignavia videretur. TACIT.*

The THIRD EDITION.

L O N D O N :

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Joseph J. Cooke
Providence R.I.

22 Dec 1883

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LETTER III.

WITHOUT entering into a long Disquisition concerning the Requisites which are necessary to constitute the Idea of LIBERTY in every State, or ascertaining what kind of Government is, in the Nature of it's Conformation, the best adapted for sustaining it when once established ; may it not with Truth be said, that whenever Inequity in Laws, and Inequality in distributive Justice are found amongst a People, that then the Exertion and Enjoyment of true Freedom do not perfectly exist in that State.

THAT

~~THAT~~ Liberty necessarily belongs to no one Form of Government, may be fairly inferred from the Opinions and Practice of all Antiquity, and in particular from the Sentiments and Behaviour of the two most illustrious Nations of the World, the *Athenians* and *Romans*.

DURING the Reign of *Theseus* their great legislative King, and in many others which succeeded his, and under the *Archons*, the *Athenians* considered themselves a Free People, because they were governed by equitable Statutes. Even *Pisistratus*, who fraudulently usurped an absolute Power over his Fellow-Countrymen, was less opposed by the People than by his Competitors for Dominion, and died at last upon the Throne of *Athens*.

THE Reason of this seems evident; he ruled according to the Laws of Equity and *Solon*. Had his Successors accompanied their Reigns with equal Judgment, and the same just Disposition, the *Grecians* had not complained of violated Freedom, and expelled them from their City.

BREACH

BREACH of Justice, and Contempt of Laws, proved their Bane and Demolition; and not their being Monarchs.

THE next Innovation in the *Athenian* State, was the Aristocratic Government, consisting of Four Hundred Men; these, under the Pretext of appealing to their Constituents, observing the Laws, and preserving the Constitution of the State, perverted the Intention of the first, and subverted the Foundations of the latter; till, becoming obnoxious to a People ever jealous of their Liberty and sensible of Injury, they were banished by the Re-call of *Alcibiades*, and the Valour of their enraged Countrymen. After this, Liberty, and the old Form of Government, returned to *Athens*.

No long Space intervened till ambitious Views and popular Commotions created new Disturbances in the State. At this time the *Athenians*, to re-instate the confused Condition of their Affairs, chose from amongst their Fellow-Citizens thirty Men, to collect and compile a Body of Laws, the most promising and probable to re-establish the broken
Police

Police of the City, correct the Diffolution of Manners in the Citizens, restore it to it's ancient Glory, and to be the standing Rules of future Government.

To this Oligarchy the sole Direction of the State, and supreme Authority was entrusted. These, in the Beginning, proceeding with great Appearance of Justice, and forming salutary Laws, were chearfully obeyed by the People; 'till the Lust of Power devouring the Love of Equality, they instituted Statutes oppressive of their Fellow-Citizens, and held in Contempt those which they had already passed; when being let loose to all the Outrage of despotic Insolence, perpetrating the most atrocious and tyrannic Insults on Liberty and the Constitution, instigated thereto by a Subsidiary Army of *Lacedæmonians*, they became the Detestation of every unpurchased *Athenian*.

At this Time the Virtue of *Thrasylulus*, and Seventy more only, who disdained to be *Athenians* and be Slaves, rescued their native Land from the opprobrious Chains of Oligarchic Tyranny: The Tyrants were ignominiously expelled the City, driven to that Land

Land from whence they had hired the enslaving Mercenaries, and their Laws publicly abolished. In this manner Liberty and Justice returned once more to *Athens*.

HENCE let it be remembered what Success attends the Virtue of a Few fired with their Country's Cause; and what Fatality awaits those who attempt despotic Sway, and the Ruin of their native Land by Foreign Hirelings.

IN this State of Freedom the *Athenians* persevered for some time, 'till growing insolent by Wealth they despised the Religion, severe Virtue, and wholesome Laws of their Ancestors; when drowned in Luxury, Effeminacy, and Sports, neglecting all Military Attention, consuming the public Revenue in Wantonness and Profusion, thronging to Theatres, and inattentive to their Country's Welfare; excluding the Wise from all public Councils, and indulging Mimics, Buffoons, and Parasites, at the Tables of the Great, they fell at length the easy Prey of *Philip*, King of *Macedon*.

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In like manner, amongst the *Romans*, under the various Changes of that Empire, the Revolutions which prevailed in it, seem rather to have arisen from the pernicious Excess of acting contrary to the Nature of Liberty, than from Disinclination to any one Form of Government. The Kings, in the Infancy of *Rome*, were willingly obeyed by the People, and the regal Power would probably have continued, if they had not dared to violate the Laws of that Constitution which they were chosen to protect.

THE Consular and Patrician Power was never opposed, 'till it became oppressive and injurious to the Plebeians; 'till the Senators, designed the Protectors of Liberty, became the Oppressors of the People; hence sprang the *Decemviri*, to curb the Aristocratic Power, and institute stable Laws for the Distribution of Justice, and Preservation of Liberty. Yet, alas! such is the Nature of Man, these, grown arrogant by Power, illegally prolonged the Time for which they had been chosen for the forming good Laws; violating the first Principles of Justice, and the very Intent for which they had been elected.

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At length, the just Resentment of an injured Nation fell upon them; they were ignominiously deposed, and the ancient Form of Government, and Freedom restored together.

HENCE does it not manifestly appear from the History and Transactions of those People, who entertained the justest Sentiments on that Subject, that Liberty belongs not necessarily either to Monarchy, Aristocracy, Oligarchy, Democracy, or to a Composition of these; that it is not absolutely united to elective, more than to hereditary Powers; or consists in being governed by Laws; but in being obliged to obey no Power which is arbitrary; and being ruled by no Laws, which are not equally distributive of Justice and Equity; alike preservative of Great and Small, the Rulers Prerogatives, and Peoples Liberties.

WHAT I mean by *Liberty*, is not that dissolute Licentiousness, which is constantly mistaken for, and asserted by the Profligate to be that celestial Attribute, alike the impious Companion of Tyranny and Anarchy; but such as it is defined by the celebrated Author of *De l'Esprit des Loix*; consisting in a Peo-

ple's possessing a Power of doing all that they ought to choose, and in not being constrained to do that which they ought not to choose.

If then this Definition, and what has been already said, bear the sacred Seal of Truth, does it not follow, that whenever a People are prohibited to bear Arms in Defence of themselves, their Liberties and Properties; that whenever a Nation is doomed to labour for Those who have no legal Claim of Merit on it's Inhabitants, who are destructive of the public Good, or for the Advantage of foreign Potentates, independent of their own: That in whatever Country these Conditions have obtained, they must be incompatible with the Interest of a free People, and totally repugnant to the Definition of Liberty, and that Idea of it acknowledged by Ancients and Moderns?

NOTWITHSTANDING these *Queries* are almost self-evident Truths, permit me to examine, without Heat, and explain, without Acrimony, whence it is derived that Liberty and the above Conditions are absolutely contradictory and found impossible to subsist together.

IN attempting this, I shall not trace your Right to Liberty from *Magna Charta*, and the distant Practice of your Ancestors; it will be sufficient for me to say, That the same Legislative Act which establishes the present Illustrious Family on the Throne, confirms you in your Liberties; that Law, which gives your Sovereign his Crown and Prerogatives, assigns and fixes your Rights and Privileges. The Power of making Peace and War is not more inherent in the King, than the being governed by just Laws belongs to the Subject.

SHOULD any Men audaciously attempt to infringe the Royal Authority, and make the crowned Head dependent on the People's Will, ought they not to be deemed as Rebels to their Sovereign? In like manner, are not all those who by any means would deprive their Fellow-Subjects of their Rights by Law established, Traitors to them, their Constitution, and all that is committed to their Charge?

IF Liberty then be the undisputed Inheritance, and peculiar Blessing of an *Englishman*,

man, has he not a just Claim to the Right of defending it? Or, with what Shadow of Truth can he be imagined to be free?

BUT left the Word *Liberty*, conveying no Idea of an Object to the Senses, may create some Puzzle in comprehending what may be here said, let me place the Word *Money* in it's stead; the Reality of which, and the Idea adequate to the Term, being thoroughly understood by all. Let us then imagine a Law to have been enacted, by which every Man in *England*, who does not possess an Hundred Pounds a Year in Land, is prohibited from resisting all who have the Inclination to deprive him of his Money. What kind of Security would he conceive he had for possessing this Property? Would not he conclude, that his Tenure, depending on the Good-will and Honesty of all who surrounded him, open to the Inroad of Invaders, was little worth, and extremely precarious?

THUS circumstanced, would he not find himself in a worse Condition in Society than without; being prevented from defending his Property by this Law of Compact; whereas it is permitted by that of Nature? And thus would not the very Essence of
Society

Society be annihilated, because a Law of such a Kind is destructive of the very Ends for which Societies were originally instituted, mutual Preservation, and Defence of Property? Is not such a Law a more slavish Injunction than the arbitrary Will of a Prince, because under the Semblance of being enacted by your Representatives? Is it not considered as your own Deed, and do you not therefore become the Assassins of your own Freedom?

PLACE *Liberty* for *Money*, and the Arguments are equally coercive. If then Ease of Mind be amongst the distinguishing Characteristics of Freedom, in what a deplorable Situation must every Man be, who beholds this celestial Donation every Minute ready to be snatched from his Possession, deprived of Arms to rescue that Blessing from the Hands of the Ravisher?

WHEREFORE under whatever Disguise Military Weapons may be withheld from your Hands, though it should be under that important and natural Consideration of preserving *Hares* and *Partridges*; since you will thereby be denied the Power of defending your

your Liberties from the Invasion of all who may attack them; can ye any longer be deemed a free People?

To assert a Nation is in secure Possession of what it is forbidden to protect, is a Contradiction in Terms: And to say it is free, divested of all Power of defending it's Freedom, is that absurd Contradiction.

LIBERTY, by the Constitution of the Realm, is the Birthright of every *Englishman*, and ought to be defended by all. It is not a Privilege granted to the Peer, and denied the Commoner; it is not conceded to the Merchant, who deals in Thousands, and withheld from him who labours at the Loom or Plough.

YOUR Representatives have never been authorized to dispose of it, being chosen as it's Protectors, and not as Traffickers in that precious Merchandize; to guard, and not to betray, the important Charge of preserving your Constitution. Every Law therefore, which can deprive you of defending that celestial Right, is it not an Infringement of your just Privilege, and a Violation of the Constitution?

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LET me add also, that Inhibition of bearing Arms in defending of Person, Liberty, and Country, has been ever deemed, through all Nations of the World, the most flagitious Characteristic of abject Slavery. Under no Form of the *Athenian* or *Roman* Governments were the People denied the Use of military Weapons, and Fighting for their native Soil.

INDEED the *Elotæ*, the unarmed Slaves of *Lacedæmon*, held in Contempt and Ignominy through all *Greece*, tilled the Lands, and reaped the Harvests for their atrocious Masters; in like manner, divested of all Power of Defence, the sooty *African* toils for his insulting Lord beneath the sultry Suns of *Jamaica*. In this Way, naked and defenceless, do ye not labour in this Isle, with this imbittering Circumstance, that being born *Englishmen*, ye have the same Claim to *Liberty* with Those who may forge your Chains and rivet your Bondage: A Circumstance never known in *Greece* or *Rome*, in which the Slaves were Aliens to the Land.

THAT your Ancestors, and many now alive, entertained the same liberal Sentiments,

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may be certainly gathered from that very *Act* which placed the *English* Diadem on the Head of *William* III. in which one great Complaint against *James* II. and one just Cause of his being dethroned, was, that he caused several good Subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same Time that Papists were indulged with Arms contrary to Law. What *Act* of Rebellion have ye since committed against your Sovereigns, that ye are thus stript of all military Power of defending yourselves?

If disarming a few Protestants was at that Time a just Cause of Complaint, and no small Motive to dethrone a King; is it a less reasonable Cause of complaining against a M——r at this Hour, when the whole Nation is disarmed? Are Papist and Protestant become equally dreaded, and stript of all Defence, alike injuriously suspected? Are the Sons of those who opposed, and those who placed *William* on the Throne of *England*, thus held indignantly like Slaves?

If Papists were a just Cause of Terror in the Reign of *James*, will the *Russian* Savages and *German* Blood-suckers, under the Name of

of *mercenary* Auxiliaries, afford less Reason for your Fears? If the pretended Exigency of Affairs, through M——l Neglect, or Design, should require their Assistance in this Isle, will Those who freeze beneath the biting Frost of a *Russian* Winter, denied almost the Necessaries of Life, divested of it's Comforts, cherished by Treaty with Hopes of being Freebooters, and endless Plunder; will they return at your Command, after having tasted the Sweet's of *England*? Will the *Hessian*, whose Being is the Price of Thirty Crowns, who sees himself sold by his inhuman Master, like the Ox to the highest Bidder; will he return to him who traffics his Subjects Lives for *English* Gold, and quit this Land, where they may be Masters?

If they should disobey your Orders, defenceless and disarmed as ye are, by what Method will ye compel them to obey you?

ARE then these foreign Troops of mercenary Hirelings less to be dreaded in *George's* Reign, than *English* Catholics were in that of *James*? Are ye less treated like Bondsmen, in being deprived of the Use of Arms now, than at that Time? Are ye less open to At-

tack and Ruin from avowed Enemies and pretended Friends?

Is not then the Law which renders ye defenceless, and snatches all Power of preserving Liberty from your Hands, a more alarming Approach to Arbitrary Power than *James's* presuming to effect it by his own Authority? The one, a Burden fixed upon your Shoulders which ye cannot escape, a Load which you must carry; the other, though placed on the Back of *Englishmen* for a while, thrown to the Ground and rejected: Shall the first prevail unremonstrated against because disguised as legal, allowed and acquiesced in, and the other disavowed, deemed despotic, and resisted because illegal; is it not a Breach of that Act which placed the Crown upon *William's* Head?

SURELY no Man has Hardiness enough to assert, that if the Minister in the Reign of *James II.* had possessed by Place and Pension an absolute Power over the House of Commons, and commanded them to pass a Law for disarming the People, that such an Act would have been less an Infringement of *English* Liberty, than if it had been executed
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by means of the King's Mandate only; all Ways of bringing about wrong Measures being alike unconstitutional and arbitrary, it is the despicable State to which ye are reduced, and not the Means by which it is effected, that makes your being disarmed a Violation of that Liberty and that Constitution, which neither *British* Kings nor *British* Laws have a Right to diminish or destroy.

HAS then that humiliating Condition, which was so justly deemed Slavery in his Reign, and so gloriously shaken off by your Fathers, changed it's Nature and lost it's Sting in this? Or has Time erased all Sense of Injury from your Souls, that being prohibited the Use of Arms, ye supinely behold the abject Situation to which ye are reduced, regardless, unremonstrating, and uncomplaining of your Fate? Shall M——rs acquire that Despotism, which Kings have never yet been able to obtain? Wipe then all Record of Liberty from your Minds, if any Trace unhappily remains upon them; lest the Remembrance of your lost Condition should damp the future Hours of your Lives with one eternal Sadness. Look not on your defenceless

fenceless Hands, nor fighting think what *England* was. Learn from *Athenians*, *Romans*, *Britons*, that not *Men* alone, but *Laws* may be equally tyrannic and oppressive; then, by remonstrating legally to your Prince and Representatives, emerge from that abject State. Emulate your Fathers Glory; like Them, be Virtuous, be Immortal, and be Free.

HAVING said thus much to prove to you, that no Nation denied the Power of defending their Liberties and Properties from foreign and domestick Enemies, can justly be denominated Free; permit me to shew you, how those Hands which have been denied the Use of Arms for their own Protection, have been employed for the Advantage of others: That the whole Produce of your Labour, the Improvement of your Lands, your Increase of Manufactures, and your Gains by Merchandize, have been long doomed to the Support of foreign Nations, ruinous to *English* Liberty and the publick Good.

IN order to lay this Truth more evidently before your Eyes, it seems necessary to return
to

to the End of the Reign of *James* the Second, to shew you the State the Nation was then in, and compare it with what at present exists in this Island.

THAT Prince then, from a Passion of being despotic, and mole-eyed Zeal of propagating the *Roman* Catholick Religion, abused the regal Authority, and extended his Prerogative illegally over the People. He disarmed Protestants; kept a Standing Army in Times of Peace; attempted to subvert the established Religion, by tolerating Catholicks and Sectaries; violated the Freedom of Elections of Members to serve in Parliament; and committed many other gross Enormities, mentioned in that Act of Parliament which placed the Crown on King *William's* Head: All these being then deemed destructive of Liberty and your Constitution, and avowed as justifiable Reasons for deposing a King, are still maintained to be such, by every *Englishman*; they must ever remain the same, in the Opinion of all honest Men; and be an everlasting Justification of all who attempt to oppose the Return of such absolute Proceedings, whether in the Monarch or his Minister.

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ACCORDINGLY in obedience to such true Sentiments of Liberty and our Constitution, Popery and arbitrary Power were supposed to be expelled together. Since which Time the two last have been considered as constant Companions, ever united in the Mouths of the Whigs: Let me examine, whether the Experience of succeeding Years has not proved that they have been divided, and that when Popery was driven into Banishment, arbitrary Power did not change Mask and Domino, and remain in that new Disguise amongst the Crowd.

AND here it is impossible to avoid observing to you, that though before this Date it had been declared "a King of *England* could do no Wrong," yet that this Maxim could not then have been universally received, because in dethroning *James II.* and in not confining their Punishments to the Ministers alone, the Leaders must have been deemed as Rebels by all Men of Virtue; which Behaviour having never been considered in that View, it appears impossible that the above Maxim could have been universally acknowledged.

Not-

NOTWITHSTANDING this, whatever might have been the Speculation and Practice of *Englishmen* at that Time, it certainly ought to be received as an inviolable and sacred Tenet at present, "that the King can do no Wrong:" And I am under no Apprehension of it's being disproved, when I affirm, that since that Day no crowned Head has ever committed a wrong Action.

HOWEVER, though Kings, as Vicegerents of Heaven, replete with celestial Attributes, are acknowledged to be incapable of doing Wrong, yet are they not totally exempt from human Weaknesses: Nor has it ever been asserted that Ministers, who generally receive their Qualifications from a very different Origin, cannot injure their Fellow-Subjects, or destroy their Country. Can it ever therefore be Criminal for an *Englishman* to delineate to his Countrymen in what manner human Frailty in a crowned Head, and Iniquity in Ministers, may have co-incided to advance a Nation's Ruin?

JAMES being deposed, and the Prince of Orange placed on the Throne, that Prince, though

though considered as Immortal, was yet not unallayed with human Frailties; amongst which, his Preference and Predilection of the United Provinces, proved not a little prejudicial to this Land, and this People, who presented him with the precious and superb Donation of three Kingdoms, to which he had no Claim, and to the obtaining which no Man ever atchieved less.

THIS Foible too eminently distinguished itself in postponing the Good of these Nations to that of *Holland*; and tho' a Theme for much Praise in the Songs of *Dutch* Poets, yet ought it to be held in everlasting Remembrance with Pain by all *Englishmen*.

FROM the Time of this Prince's mounting the Throne, the Interest of *England* began to sink in the Bogs of *Holland*, and the High and Mighty States reigned in the Breast of this King in Possession, as Popery did in Him that was exiled from the Throne.

UNHAPPY for this Nation, the King of *England* was likewise Stadtholder of the United Provinces: And though a Prince of the Continent may be allowed Plurality of Dominions,

Dominions, yet past Experience has proved, that the Interest of this Island will no more permit the Sovereigns of it to possess Plurality of Realms, than the Christian Religion Plurality of Wives. It cannot suffer this Kingdom to be wedded for her Wealth, subservient to another more favourite Wife, taken for Love alone. As she is separated from the World, she ought to be disunited from all others in the Breast of her Possessor. It is not therefore impossible for one Part of a King's Dominions to be uttering eternal Eulogies, in Commemoration of him, whom the other has little Reason to esteem. It must be remembered also, that tho' the King of *England* and Stadtholder were united in one Person, that the Interest and Titles of *England* and the United Provinces remained as distinct and separate as if held by two different Princes; and no Union of these in one Man, can change the Nature and Advantages which each Dominion naturally possesses.

WHATEVER Country then may be held by the King of *England* under another Title, is to be considered as unconnected with this Isle, farther than as that Dominion and this may mutually aid and support each other;

and this notwithstanding any superior Love which the Sovereign may manifest towards it, An *E*——*b* *M*——*r* therefore, who may indulge his Master, and, for the sake of preserving his own Power, dupe his native Land to this Propensity, is an Enemy, if not a Rebel, to his Country.

SHOULD *France* and *England*, which Heaven avert, be ever ruled by the same Sovereign, would not the *M*——*r* who pillaged this Land to please his King, and enrich the *French*, deserve the severest Punishment?

IN like manner, every other Realm held by a King of this Island, the Interest of which is distinct, if not contradictory to yours, should be considered by you in the very same Light as *France*, and beheld with the same Aversion by every *Englishman* who is resolved to be free. Have ye not just Right to complain, whenever the Labour of your Hands, the Profits of your Trade, and the Blood of your Fellow-Subjects, shall be wantonly lavished in Defence of Foreign Interests, to fatten the sterile Soil, and fill the empty Purses of more favourite Subjects?—Will not every *M*——*r* who fosters such Inclinations,

clinations, and drains his Country's Treasures to supply them, merit the most ignominious Punishment?

IT must be remarked also, that at this glorious Period of the Revolution, which so happily established (according to the Whig Phrase) our Liberties and Privileges, Things took a different Turn from what is generally conceived; the Supreme Power, in Fact, fell from the crowned Head on that of the Minister. From this Instant the latter began to be absolute, and his Sovereignty has been increasing since that Time.

THE Whigs in Power, from the Principle inseparable from a Whig, now resolved to make themselves arbitrary. They had found by Experience, that an Attempt to reign without a King was impracticable in *England*; they therefore commenced the successful Scheme of reigning with one; and this Change of Princes afforded too favourable an Opportunity for executing their despotic Designs.

THEY saw that the King must of Necessity fall entirely into their Possession. They knew

knew also that his Opponents being very numerous, he dared not to desert that Party which had crowned him. They perceived also, that being an Alien to the Land, the Love of *Dutch* Welfare had absorbed the Good of *England* in the new Sovereign's Heart; and he, in his Turn, had discovered, that the Desire of Power, and not Freedom, had chiefly actuated in the Breasts of those who had given him the Throne: In mutual Acquiescence therefore with each other's Interests, the King declined struggling for Power in *England*, to obtain Money for the Service and Advantage of *Holland*; and to sate his Love of Slaughter, and Enmity to *Lewis XIV.* And the Minister indulged him with the Objects of these Desires, in order to govern more quietly and despotic. Thus this Country was sacrificed to *Holland*, to please the favourite Inclinations of a King, and to support a pernicious Ministry.

AT the same Time the Ministers, to bind the monied Men to their Devotion, and secure them in their Power, began the destructive Schemes of *National Debts*, and mortgaging *Englishmen*; by which all those thus indulged in their Designs of accumulating Wealth were gained to the Party: And all this

this was transacted under a Mask, written all over in red Letters with LIBERTY, PROPERTY, and the PROTESTANT RELIGION; No POPERY! No SLAVERY!

THE People, caught like Larks by the dazzle of these Words, and with seeing a King seemingly kept under by his Ministers and Parliament, imagined that the Temple of Liberty was now fixing on a Rock, which no Winds or Tempests could remove; never entertaining the least Idea, that the very Part of the Constitution which was pruning the Regal Power, was inoculating their own; and that by their future Culture this Sprig of Ministerial Power might grow to overshadow the Regal Prerogative and People's Liberties; and that a Minister might hereafter be an absolute Potentate.

YET, though Ministers are absolute, they are not immortal. Like the despotic Sultans they frequently give Way to their Successors, through Tumult and Opposition; and Kings, like Janizaries, may change their Lords, and yet live under an absolute Dominion. For this Reason, as there are at all times many vigorous Sons urging up the
steep

steep Ascent of Power, the Minister in Possession, in order to preserve his Seat, has constantly indulged the crowned Head with Money to promote *Dutch* and *Germanic* Interests; and thus the Sovereign being content, the Minister has been secure, and the Nation going on to Ruin.

By Proceedings of this Nature, since the placing the Crown on the Head of *William* the Third, a new Way of becoming arbitrary has been pursued by M——rs. It seems, they had been convinced by the Death and Exile of Princes, that P——ts would not silently bear the exorbitant Attempts of Regal Prerogative, and from thence were apprehensive, they were no more inclined tamely to submit to the arbitrary Disposition of M——rs; they therefore began to divide amongst the Members part of that Money which they levied on the Constituents; and thus, under the Appearance of proceeding legally, kept the People quiet, and stifled the Clamour of their Representatives by venal Influence.— By this Way Laws were made, which inflicted greater Grievances, and imposed heavier Taxes on you, than had ever been attempted by extended Prerogative and arbitrary Inclinations.

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NOTWITHSTANDING this, it appears to me, that as those Articles in the *Act of Settlement* were then judged necessary to ascertain your Liberties; they cannot be infringed or abrogated without injuring your Rights and the Constitution, and bringing back in Effect, though not in the same Place, that arbitrary Power so justly complained of in *James's* Reign.

HAVING said thus much, let me now present you with the State of your Taxes, as they stood at the Abdication of King *James*; and then shew you by what Means they have so enormously increased, from that Hour to the present.

AT *James's* leaving the Crown, the annual Revenue of this Kingdom, at the highest Computation, was Two Millions Sixty-one Thousand Eight Hundred fifty-six Pounds. This Income then supported a formidable Navy equipped for the Seas, and an Army of Thirty-Thousand Land Forces. It supplied the Civil List, and impowered the King to save Money yearly: For, according to Accompts given into Parliament, the annual

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Expenditure amounted at a Medium to no more than One Million Six Hundred ninety-nine Thousand Three Hundred sixty-three Pounds. By this it appears, that Three Hundred sixty two Thousand Four Hundred ninety-three Pounds of the public Revenue were annually saved : At this Time also the Kingdom was not a Shilling in Debt.

THIS then was the supposed Situation of your Affairs at that distinguished Æra. A Kingdom without a Head ; a Nation out of Debt ; an annual Revenue of Two Millions ; Popery and Slavery banished ; the Whigs in full Possession, unincumbered, and entire Masters !

LET me now inquire, how like Patriots those who stript the Crown from the Father's Head, and placed it on the Son and Daughter's, have acquitted themselves in the Service of their Country.

DURING the Reign of King *William*, his Love of *Holland*, and Lust of War cherished by the Ministry desiring to be absolute, levied upon this People upwards of Fifty Millions in thirteen Years. More than double
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the Amount of former Taxes, for an equal number of Years preceding; besides which, you and your Posterity were mortgaged for a Debt of Ten Millions. This Blessing the Deliverer of this Land bequeathed you at his Death; doubly Immortal, in expelling Popery, and mortgaging *England*.

AFTER his decease, the Balance of Power, the Liberty of *Germany*, *Popery*, *Slavery*, and the *Protestant* Interest, Terms which Time has shewn never to have had any reasonable Ideas annexed to them, together with the Ambition and Avarice of the Duke and Dutchess of *Marlborough*, engaged you in a War on the Continent, in support of the most Popish and most Arbitrary Prince of all the *Germanic* States, the House of *Austria*.

DURING this War, your Taxes, your Ruin, and your Conquests, went Hand in Hand, magnificently increasing. For at the end of Ten Years Victory and Queen *Anne's* Reign, there had been levied on this People more than Seventy five Millions; which being almost Six Millions a Year, is annually three Times as much as was raised during the Reign of *James*. To say nothing of the ex-

travagant Increase of the National Debt to Fifty Three Millions. Thus in two Reigns of Twenty Six Years, this infatuated Nation was pillaged of One Hundred twenty three Millions to support *Dutch* and *German* Interests, and destroy their own.

To this Princess succeeded *George* the First, whose Inclination to govern according to the Constitution has been generally allowed and believed, and I imagine with Justice, though by no Means divested of Predilection for his native Land.

HAD his Minister possessed the simple Qualification of Integrity during this Reign, *England* might have been lightened from her Load of Debts, and emerged with all her former Effulgence from behind her Cloud of Grievances: For it is as demonstrable as Figures can make it, that during this Reign, if *English* Welfare had been the Ministerial Object, your Debts might have been reduced to Twelve Millions, which at Three *per Cent.* would have been but Three Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds *per Ann.* a Subsidy at present scarce deemed worth the Acceptation of a *German* Prince, whose Revenue does not amount to half that Sum. IN

IN Consequence of such Design persued with Equity, in the Year 1740 we should have had a free Revenue of Five Millions from the Sinking Fund, Malt Tax, and Land Tax at Four Shillings in the Pound. During this Reign of Peace the whole Revenue amounted to more than Thirty Eight Millions, and the National Debt remained much as it was at the Queen's Death.

How then can the Memory of a M——r be sufficiently detested, who thus neglecting the Salvation of his native Land, saw it expiring beneath the Burthen of her Taxes, yet never stretched forth his Hand to ease her Load and save her from Perdition? He, who had been the Universal Invader of Freedom in Electing your Representatives, the Profligate Spreader of Perjury and Corruption; the wanton Spoiler of Religion and Virtue; who, by the Power of passing penal Laws cut you from your Rights and Privileges, and doom'd your Lives to the Mercy of every prostituted Justice of the Peace.

Is this according to the Spirit of *Magna Charta*, the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement, or *English Liberty*? Detestable therefore

fore as he must remain in the Hearts of all honest Men, tell me in what Light ought his Successors to be regarded, who, improving on his nefarious Plan of National Ruin, have so loaded the Genius of this distressed Isle with accumulated Imposts, that, sunk beneath the Load, he gasps expiring?

DURING this Time *Germanic* Interests grew daily more prevalent, and M——rs insolently pursued the old Maxims of indulging the ruling Passions of their——to preserve themselves in Power, remorseless in their Country's Ruin; so that during this Reign there has been levied on this oppressed People, One Hundred forty five Millions, and in one Year, the last of the War, Ten Millions fifty nine Thousand ninety four Pounds: And even in the Year Seventeen Hundred fifty four, in profound Peace, Seven Millions five Hundred thirteen Thousand three Hundred forty four Pounds. Thus from the happy Hour of the Glorious and Immortal King *William's* being placed on this Throne, your annual Taxes have been increased from Two Millions sixty one Thousand eight Hundred fifty six Pounds, to Ten Millions fifty nine Thousand ninety four Pounds

Pounds in Time of War, and to Seven Millions five Hundred thirteen Thousand three Hundred forty four Pounds in Time of perfect Tranquillity; added to which Blessing, you, your Children, and Childrens Children, to endless Generations, are mortgaged for a National Debt of Eighty Millions.

DURING this Interval, so productive of Blessings to this Land, according to the Songs of Whigs, Pensioners, Placemen, and Ministers, consisting of Sixty six Years only, there has been levied Three Hundred and eight Millions, from which deducting the annual Expence of Two Millions at the dethroning *James* the Second, there remains One Hundred and seventy-six Millions, which have been lavished in supporting *Dutch* and *German* Interests, and ruining your own.

HAVING thus far traced the happy Consequences of the *Whig* Administration, in draining you by oppressive Taxes, and overwhelming you with enormous Debts, I shall take the Liberty to show you how this Money has in Part been disposed of in Subsidies to foreign Princes; first making one Remark, that whenever a Man of no Fortune marries a rich

rich Wife, it generally follows, that her Money maintains his poor Relations and needy Cousins.

In doing this it will be impossible to come at all the Sums paid in Subsidies, because Votes of Credit, Money for Deficiencies not provided for by Parliament, and other unspecified Sums, may very possibly have been applied in this anti-constitutional Manner. And to show you that this Supposition is not without just Foundation, in 1697 there were, amongst the Resolutions of the House, mention of Sums due to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, Landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, Duke of *Wolfenbuttle*, Bishop of *Munster*, Duke of *Hanover* and *Zell*, Duke of *Holstein*, and the King of *Denmark*.

HOWEVER, without including what has been just mentioned, there has been paid in Subsidies and incident Expences to foreign Princes, more than Fourteen Millions: A Sum exceeding the present Quantity of Specie in the Nation. And to this if there be added the Expence of subsisting those Troops in time of War, probably the Sum would be doubled.

THIS

THIS must inenitably appear not a little unaccountable and extraordinary to the Mind of every true *Englishman*: How will he reconcile this Idea with the Love of his Country; that during Wars carried on solely for *Germanic* Interests, the *English* have spent in Paying and Sustaining those Powers Twenty-eight Millions, hiring Princes and People to defend their own Territories, and protect their own Properties. What Arguments can a M——r offer to palliate this profligate Abuse of Power and Public Trust, this Sacrifice, more inhuman than those to *Möloch*, of a whole Nation to the Advantage of *German* Princes, whose Interests are as distant from yours, as those of one Planet from another, whose Dominions are not worth, at Public Auction, the Tenth Part of what you have spent and ran in Debt to support them; of this Sum, Two Millions Three hundred thousand Pounds *English* Money, have been paid to the Elector of H——r, as Subsidies for Troops hired to defend their own Country.

MARVELLOUS as the former must appear, this Article must yet surely excite a greater Wonder in the Eyes of all Men who yet

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love

love their Country, particularly when they consider, that since the blessed Accession of this Family to the Throne of these Realms, the Elector of H——r must have been enabled to save from his *Germanic* Revenues, by not residing on the Spot, at least Two hundred thousand Pounds Annually. These Sums, without entering into a strict Calculation of increasing Interest, like a *Change-Alley* Broker, and yet not quite rejecting it, must, without Doubt, have doubled themselves to the amount of Sixteen Millions Four hundred thousand Pounds.

THIS Sum then H——r has saved, whilst M——rs have been oppressing the harassed Subjects of *England*, destroying your Manufactures by Taxes, ruining your Liberties by fatal Laws, and mortgaging your Progeny by enormous Debts; methinks therefore, since this forlorn State has been already thus exhausted, oppressed, and mortgaged for *German* Interests, whilst those for whom you have Fought and Laboured have been growing Rich by your Undoing, it would be reasonable that H——r should at least expend in her own Defence that Money which *England* has enabled her to save, before we are deeper plunged into the fathomless

thomless Abyſs of National Debt and overwhelming Taxes on that Account. Notwithſtanding this, tho' I confeſs to you with great Alacrity, that unſpeakable Advantages to this Nation have been derived from the Kings of the *Brunſwick* Race; yet, may I not be permitted to plead ſomething in Favour of a grateful People, who have by Indulgence defended the *Germanic* Dominions to the enriching their Inhabitants, and impoweriſhing themſelves.

GRATITUDE towards the Electorate of *H—r*, which has given us ſo Illuſtrious a King, ought undoubtedly to be cheriſhed and eſtimated to it's full Value, in the Breſt of all *Engliſhmen*; yet will it not admit of ſome Debate, whether a *M—r* ſhould be indulged in ſuch extravagant and fatal Miſconduct, as that of dooming the Labour of your Hands entirely to *German* Welfare; eſpecially when we know, that our moſt gracious *S—n* on the *T—e* is abſolutely diveſted of all ſuch partial Inclinations, preferring the National Blifs of this Iſland and it's Inhabitants, to whom he was born a Stranger, to the Welfare of that People, amongſt whom he firſt drew his Vital Breath?

To such Exaltation can the Souls of S——s
rise above Humanity!

WITH what Rapture then do I declare
this to you, my Fellow Countrymen; with
what Pleasure will you see it confirmed by
Public Authority, that all these levied Subsi-
dies, to hire mercenary *Barbarians*, and sus-
tain *German* Interests, are the Schemes of
M——l Heads? Shall then the Tenderness
of the parental P——e be defeated by the Arts
of rapacious M——rs?

BUT let me no longer detain you from
the Joy of reading what, fatally overlooked
by the M——r, demonstrates the Truth of
that which I have been asserting, the Passage
is from the last *Edinburgh* Address on his Ma-
jesty's Return from *Hanover*, printed in the
London Gazette, and in these Words, " The
" Spirit and Vigour with which your Majesty
" has supported the Rights of your Crown
" and Kingdom, when unjustly invaded,
" makes it our indispensable Duty to applaud
" those Measures, *wherein all Considerations*
" *have been manifestly postponed to the Interest*
" *of the British Dominions.*" This transcript of
Zeal, breathed from a Country so remarkable
for

for it's Loyalty, though perhaps it may not be paralleled by any Address from *English* Corporations yet for the Honour of my Country, I assert is as firmly believed by *English* as by *Scotchmen*; and though you have been less warm in your Expressions, I am convinced ye are as steady in your Loyalty and Duty.

HAVING in this Manner proceeded to lay before you the Money which has been raised and lavished, together with the Debt incurred in sustaining *German* Interests, it is with Pain I proceed to show how your Calamities have increased in other Views; every Bosom that yet feels for it's Native Land, must prove the biting Anguish of this accumulated Misery.

IT is not only that your Trade, Agriculture, and Manufactures, have been wholly employed to support foreign Interests; the matchless Iniquity of M———rs has been totally engaged in ruining yours, by reducing the Value of pecuniary Property to less than one Sixth of it's worth at the Revolution.

In

In the Reign of King *William* Money was at Seven *per Cent.* it is now reduced to Three and One half: Thus then as the Interest arising from that Property determines it's Value, Two thousand Pounds being now only productive of the same Interest which one gave you at that Time, are of no more Worth; and all your Property in that Shape must have lost half it's Value: To this Misfortune the fatal Adherence to *Germanic* Interests has reduced you.

How many friendless Widows and destitute Orphans have already sorely felt, how many more must suffer on this Account, owing to this calamitous Reduction? Old Age pines in Want of the necessary Comforts, which that helpless State requires, and Infants are divested of Education from this fatal Change in pecuniary Income.

YET alas, this Reduction of half the Worth of your Possessions in Money does not terminate the Evil. By the best Computation, according to the Taxes of 1754, in profound Peace, out of every Twenty Shillings which is laid out to purchase the Necessaries of

of Life, Fourteen are doomed to the paying Taxes. By this Means two Thirds of that Money which was before reduced in half it's Value since the Revolution, by diminished Interest, is again taken from you, by the Increase of your Taxations.

Thus then for every Twenty Shillings Income in the Time of *James* the Second, arising from the Interest of your Money, you receive but Ten Shillings only at present; and as at his Exile your Taxes amounted only to Four Shillings in the Pound of all you expended, and at this Time to Fourteen, it follows, from the Imposts so enormously increased by M——rs, that since that Time, instead of possessing Sixteen Shillings in every Pound clear of Taxes, you now possess Three only to purchase all the Necessaries of Life: What have ye already suffer'd? When will ye behold the End of your Calamities?

WHAT *Englishman's* Heart can cease from throbbing with Anxiety, when the hapless Condition of his industrious Countrymen comes across it? When wounded with this Thought, that of all you earn one half is lost

lost in Value, and two Thirds of that sunk in Taxes since the Revolution; how inexpressible must that Anguish be to all you who recollect, that of every twenty Strokes of those who labour at the Hammer, or the Loom, in Agriculture, Arts, and Manufactures, Fourteen are doomed to pay accumulated Taxes, raised for *German* Interests? That of Minutes, Hours, Days, Weeks, Years, and Ages, Fourteen of every Twenty are destined to pay for what will be your Ruin, before yourselves, your Wives and Children, can taste their daily Bread, the honest Labour of your Hands?

NAY, all ye Eat, Drink or Wear, Health, Cleanliness and Warmth, your Dwellings, and even the chearing Light of the Sun, which Heaven has given alike to all, are taxed to enrich *Germans* and exhaust you.

SUCH then, tho' the Revolution was at that Time absolutely necessary, have been the deplorable Effects of M——l Misconduct since that Æra, to such Distress ye are reduced.

HARD as these Conditions may appear, I should yet have acquiesced in this Support of
German

German Interests, if the Product of your Trades had answered to the Sums ye consumed, and the Increase of your National Wealth had augmented during the Time of this Dissipation: But alas! such is the Fate of *Englishmen*, that of the Millions coined in this Land, of the Millions coined in others, and brought hither by Loans and Commerce, not less perhaps than One hundred Millions since the Revolution, not one Shilling remains amongst you more than there was in *England* at that Time; not to mention the National Debt incurred of Eighty Millions. *Germany* and her Interests, with some Assistance from the *East-India* Company, like the *Locusts*, which fell on *Ægypt*, have devoured up the Whole. Wealth has passed thro' this Kingdom like a Meteor thro' the Sky, blazed, and left no Trace behind.

THIS long List of Evils, ye might well expect would terminate your Misery; but alas! it is not in the Burthen of your Taxes only, but in the Manner which they are laid upon you, that the Calamity is increased.

WHEN Taxes were first granted in this Kingdom, *for ever*, as a Security for the Money which was to be levied upon them,

G

in

in many it was provided, that as soon as the Money borrowed thereon was paid, the Tax should cease: But since that Time, these and all others, the Malt-Tax, Land-Tax, and very few besides excepted, have been granted *to all Eternity*, with a Provision only, that when the Money borrowed on them shall be paid, the Produce shall be at the Disposal of Parliament.

THE Difference is too glaring to escape your Observation in these two Ways of passing the Bills; in the first, the Tax ceases necessarily with the Payment of the Debt, and the People are not obliged to pay it; in the second, it continues after the Debt is discharged, and the People are obliged to pay it. Wherefore, if ever the National Debts should be liquidated, which I believe no Man's Fears will induce him to say God prevent, from any present Probability of that Event, the King will have a Revenue of more than four Millions Sterling coming annually into his Exchequer, without any new Grant from Parliament, or need of it. Will then the Crown, the M——r, Placemen, Pensioners, and Plunderers, hereafter consent to free you from these Taxes, by abrogating the Law? Should a Monarch graciously

ciously incline, will a M——r honestly consent; or will a Crowned Head listen to the righteous Advice of a just M——r, if Heaven, in Commiseration to our Fall, should in future Time send us that Temporal Saviour?

IF then the blessed Sun shall ever rise, which shall behold the Discharge of your Debts, and peradventure there shall be seated on this Throne a K——— swift to Wrath, and swift to Fear, whose partial Fervor for *Germanic* Interests shall prompt him into Broils, inattentive to your Welfare, so tender of his continental Subjects, and so afraid of *French* Invasion in that Part, that through Dread of their Distress, he shall be intimidated to vote for the Election of that very E——r he is opposing; when chaining by his timid Command the Royal Fleet of *England* at *Gibraltar*; he shall permit that of the Enemy to pass by unnoticed and untouched, whilst the brave Admiral runs mad at the Horror of this Sacrifice of his Country's Honour; then this Revenue will probably be applied to the sole Benefit of foreign Nations.

BUT if it shall happen that the M———r then in Direction shall dare the K——g to dismiss him from his Post, shall appoint all

Officers at his arbitrary Will, and discharge all who presume to oppose his pernicious Practices; then shall this Revenue be squandered to purchase Burroughs, corrupt P—ts, lull the Turbulent, sooth and satisfy the Ambitious, and rule ye with the Iron Rod of M———l Despotism.

It may happen also that a K—— and M——r of these Propensities may rule together, then will their Conduct be a Mixture of the fatal Effects of such Inclinations, and you doubly fleeced, to sate the outrageous Love for foreign Nations in one, and to supply the inextinguishable Hunger after Rapine in the other, and in his profligate Adherents: In this Manner, by Powers drawing different Ways, ye shall be rent asunder.

To what a deplorable Situation since the glorious Revolution are ye reduced? Arms are again taken from your Hands, the Income of your pecuniary Property shrunk to one Sixth of it's Value. The Necessity of your Toil for daily Bread immensely increased, the whole Profits of it bestowed on Foreign Nations, yourselves and Progeny mortgaged beyond Redemption, and your Taxes rivetted beyond all Hopes of Dissolution.

TELL

TELL me then by what Name I shall define ye, doom'd to such hard Conditions for your daily Bread, defenceless even of that little ye possess. Shall I, beholding ye are yet *Englishmen*, dare to call ye Slaves?

YET alas ! to *German* Weal have not your Looms and Labour, Arts, Agriculture, Merchandize and Science, been long destined ? For that your Flocks have been increased and shorn, your Fields been fertilised and reapt, your Ships have dared the Wrath of Tempests, your Cash been squandered, your Blood been lavished. For that Interest ye have Lived and shall Die.

THEN tell me, how does the purchased *Negro* differ from you in Servitude ? How is your Condition more eligible or free, when the hard Hand of Necessity compels you to Toil Fourteen Hours in every Twenty, for foreign Nations, to whom ye owe no legal Obedience, before ye earn one Bit of Bread.

WHO shall now audaciously lift his Front and say ye are longer Free, or that your State answers to the Definition given by that great Author quoted in the Beginning of
these

these Pages ? Do ye possess the Power of doing all ye ought to chuse ? Are ye not compell'd to do that which ought not to be the Choice of a free People ?

In this Manner reduced as ye are since the Date of the happy Revolution, in all the Value of your annual Revenues, is it credible that the Heart of an *Englishman*, unrelenting to the Miseries of his Native Land, can again suggest the cruel Thought of finishing your Destruction, by espousing *H——n* Interests, at this precarious Moment ?

Is it not Time to respite this Nation from her Calamities and Sufferings ? Must her Wounds again be opened, her Treasures sluiced for the sole Benefit of *German* Powers ? Shall mercenary *Barbarians* be purchased in Defence of *H——r*, and ten Times the Value of that State in *English* Gold be wasted for it's Preservation ? Will the Woes of all Nations but yours be ended ?

Be not amused with specious Tales of Conventions made with the *Prussian* King, and vast Advantages obtained ; what are you to him, or he to you, as *Hamlet* says of *Hecuba* ? What is this but farther Proof of Attention

tention to *H——n* Weal, whilst the Safety of this Nation is still neglected and postponed, and Arms withheld from your Hands? Whatever be the concealed Condition, be assured, the Price of your Labour, the Works of your Hands, the Produce of your Lands and Manufactories, purchase him to the Engagement; whatever the Advantage, it can accrue to *H——r* alone. Of what other Consequences can these Treaties be to this Land, saving that of completing your Perdition?

HAVE ye an Ally, unpurchased by your Treasure, who will advance one Regiment to the Field in your Defence? Will even the *H——ns*, for whom you have already wasted so much Wealth, will the *Austrians* espouse your Quarrel, and risque the *Netherlands* in your Favour? Can that Nation which already pays Fourteen Shillings in every Twenty which her Inhabitants expend towards the Taxes of the State, bear farther fleecing, and new Imposts? Can a People in whose Favour, at the highest Computation, the Yearly Balance of Trade does not exceed Five hundred thousand Pounds, whose Cash consists of only Fourteen Millions, be capable of sustaining the Payment of foreign Subsidies, and Support of *German Armies*,
to

to the Amount of three or four Millions annually ; which transmigrating, like the Soul in the System of *Pythagoras*, from hence to *Brutes*, never returns to the same Body ?

WILL *Dutchmen* and other Foreigners lend their Money to furnish Loans to a State, whose declining Credit is manifest by the Reduction of one Quarter of their *East-India* Stock ? Can you alone sustain a continental War, mortgaged for Eighty Millions, against *France*, who, when free and unmortgaged, have been running to Destruction in supporting former Wars, assisted by the *Dutch* and *Austrians* ?

WILL not then a five Years War on the Continent, and M——l Conduct, bring upon you a more deplorable Calamity than that with which the Will of Heaven has visited the *Portuguese* ? When Paper no longer circulating from Hand to Hand in lieu of Money, your Treasure wasted to *Germany*, ye stand in need of wherewithal to buy your Children Bread ?

THE Gold of *Portugal*, tho' buried in the Ruins of *Lisbon*, may again be recovered from the Rubbish ; tho' hid, not annihilated ;

lated ; whereas the Treasure of this Isle, transported to *Germanic* Lands, will be irrecoverable by human Industry, and lost for ever. Does it then require the Gift of Prophecy to predict your Destruction ?

YET in this present Situation, not irremediable by adhering to *British* Interests alone, this precious Moment which must decide the Fate of *England*, such is the unnatural Lot of every honest *Englishman*, who feels for the Distresses of his Country, that Consent to Subsidies, and supporting *German* Interests, are the sole Tests of Allegiance to M——rs, the sole Preservative of Place and Pension. He who nobly prefers his Native Land to H——n Welfare, is marked the instant Victim of M——l Vengeance. Long Services, unimpeached Fidelity, superior Talents, well-fought Fields, and honest Wounds in *England's* Cause, weigh nothing in the M——l Scale against H——n Welfare ; these secure no Man from Dismission, who dares oppose the draining your Treasures for *German* Interests.

SUCH is your dire Condition : Then tell me, what have ye to expect from that Man, who having violated his Fidelity to his
H Prince,

Prince, and trucked his Religion for a Place, bellows out for Subsidies, his hardened Front of *Hibernian* Brass unblushing at the Speech and Action?

OR what have ye to Hope from him, who, like *St Paul*, converted by the Splendor of those Rays which dart from on high, becomes all Things to all Men? Who, sown in Weakness is raised in Power? And, like the first Man, is of the Earth, earthly? But behold, I will show them a Mystery, they shall not all Sleep, but they shall be changed; for this Corruptible, must put on Incorruption, and this Mortal must put on Immortality.

OR lastly, from him, who like the *Vulture* long hovering o'er his Prey, has at length fowling, fixed his Talons in M——l Power; he who possesses it on the base Conditions of wasting your Wealth in foreign Subsidies, and dooming this Land to Perdition in support of H——n Interests.

HE who, from his early Youth Companion of the Abandoned, immersed in Dice and Women, Self-interested, Daring, Proud, Rapacious, Vehement, Unequal, Active, Timid;

Timid ; his Ambition rising like the rank Weed from Dung ; now giving, yet retaining ; completes the promised Expectation of his opening Life, and dupes his native Land to his own, and foreign Interests.

HE whose Tongue, the pleading Bawd for every Robber of his Country, has vindicated an *A—r* and *L——p*, whose Fingers, like the Hair of *Solomon's* Mistress, are all of pure Gold ; like *Catiline*, desperate in his Purposes, undoing or undone, seducing the Young, furrounded by the Profligate, who, avaricious thro' Profusion, with scarce less Vice or more Virtuous Inclinations towards their Country, pillage to waste : Among whom, perhaps, a *Cæsar* now cherishes the Hopes of future Empire.

OR that Veteran in M—l Iniquity, who, like the silly *Ostrich*, thinking himself Invisible to all he does not see, hides his Head amongst these Men, and leaves his bare Backside an Object of Derision to every Passenger.

IF such shall ever be your M——l Rulers, behold them with that Horror which Heaven has commanded the Virtuous to look on Iniquity ; Then turn your Eyes on those,
H 2 who

who scorning all Place which is incompatible with *English* Honour and *English* Interest, shall be dismissed, because they prefer their Country's Cause to foreign Welfare.

BEHOLD with Joy him, whose unwearied Diligence, superior Intellect, Love of his Country, and *Memorial for settling the Limits of Nova Scotia*, rescued the M——r from the dire Dilemma of not being able to prove the Right of *England* to these very Provinces in *America*, for which ye contend, and silenced all the babbling Batteries of *France*: Who, greatly renouncing all Post and Place, destines his Talents to serve his Country only.

OR him, Integrity burning Incense at the Altar of his Heart, whose honest Hand disdained to Sign a Breach of this Constitution, or trifle with *British* Welfare.

HE who, resigning all pecuniary Advantage, despises the false Honour of Place, the fallacious dazzle of Power, sustaining his Country's Cause still uncorrupted.

How shall I describe to you a noble Family, where all the Sons are virtuous, ardent in their Country's Cause, relinquishing
all

all Place and Profit, resolute in Honour, strenuous in Justice to this Land, their Constitution, and their King?

OR him, who renouncing immense Income, the Price of Numbers, and even the Post he wishes to possess, when it may be held compatible with his own Honour and his Country's Glory, steps forth like *David*, tho' not at *Saul's* Request, before the *Israelites*, opposing the M——l *Goliath*, and his Host?

HIS Heart still uncorrupt amidst the general Venality, animates his Lips in your Defence; those Lips, which to this Day have uttered nothing but the Voice of Truth in *England's* Favour.

HE, who contemning mercenary Views, with pure Integrity supported the Honour of his Station, his Hands unstained with venal Pollution, his Tongue unprostituted in defence of Falshood, or extenuation of Iniquity; for him the Soldier maimed in Battle, offers up his daily Prayers, who freed him from the Plunderer.

MARK how that force of Eloquence, like the Sword of *Michael*, cleaves the Satanic Body

Body of the M——y afunder; yet fuch is the Power of Union amongst Evil M——rs, like that of Evil Spirits, it unites them again to war againft your Welfare.

Assist me, Heaven, to paint this Messenger difpatched from your Abodes, who, arduous in the Task of Liberty, fpreads his broad Shield of Truth in Protection of this Country from the Rage of G——n Harpies; or give my Words his Power of Speech, and ftrength of Argument, which dart like the folar Rays on the dark Places and Recesses of your Miferies, making all vifible: Then may I offer him to your Perceptions, and fhew him as he is.

DID ye behold him rifing in the Affembly of the ———, the Lightning of Virtue flafhing from his Eyes, the Thunder of Patriotifm rolling from his Tongue; fo fuperior he appears, fuch Majesty he wears, you muft conceive him fent an Angel, to denounce the Wrath of Heaven againft a finful Generation; his Opponents calling on Rocks and Mountains to hide and cover them? Such Confufion and Dread dwell on the daftard Faces of all, who, fold to H——n Interests, ftand branded in the Forehead with

with the *White Horse*, the ignominious Mark of Slavery.

LISTEN not, ye People, to the Voice of Slander and Malediction, which taints in vain his Acts of Virtue with the base Idea of Ter-giverfation, or want of Uniformity in Conduct: On whom has he turned his Back, but those who would destroy their Native Land? Whom has he deserted, that Honour can suffer an *Englishman* to herd with? Why did he remain so long silent, but thro' Hopes, at length the auspicious Hour might come, when getting to his S——n's Ear, the Voice of Truth might prevail in *England's* Favour?

IN vain, him whom they tremble to oppose Face to Face, beneath the Light of Heaven, they secretly stiletto'd in the Dark, before his M——r. The magic Voice of Verity was withheld from R——l Ears, whilst the keen Breath of Malice blasted his Attachment to the K—— of E——d, pronouncing him the Enemy of H——r.

MAY that Hour never arrive, when the R——l Heart shall too late be touched with Remorse for this Credulity, and suffer by the Deception of M——rs!

ON

ON this Man then turn all your Eyes,
from Him expect Redress, by Him urge
your Remonstrances, believe Him sent for
your Preservation, lest, like the *Messiah* to
the *Jews*, he preach Salvation to an ungrate-
ful People, and ye are lost for ever.

F I N I S.

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to the People of *England*.
[Price One Shilling each.]

MAY that Hour never arrive, when the
R—! Hour shall too late be touched with
Remorse for this Credulity, and led by the
Deception of M—!